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Phonological Variation in the Repertoire of an Israeli-Palestinian City

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Abstract

This study investigated the sociolinguistic reflexes of phonological variation in the repertoire of Ṭaibeh* community. Changes in the local community repertoire were examined by age, gender and education for the effects of globalization, modernization, and Hebraization. Furthermore, the study provides a better understanding of the sociolinguistic process of Israeli Palestinian speakers of Arabic in Ṭaibeh and the new varieties of Arabic. These changes were analyzed by three specific variables: age, gender, education. In addition, factors including: social class, economic status, group solidarity, traditions, and parental influence are discussed. The study presents a research-based perspective on several sociolinguistic aspects of language varieties in a community experiencing major cultural change. Ṭaibeh is geographically closer to Hebrew speaking cities than other Arab cities and villages that have been studied ((Amara and Spolsky, 1995, 1996; Spolsky and Amara, 1997), Zalafa (Amara, 1986; Amara and Spolsky, 1986, 1991, 1994, 1995), Silwan (Abdeen, 2002), and Bethlehem (Amara, Spolsky & Tushyeh, 1999)) which intensifies the language contact between Arabic and Hebrew. The exposure to varied linguistic and social realities (including the influence of the internet and the social media) might reveal prominent differences in language maintenance and shift among interlocutors. Before the establishment of the State of Israel, Ṭaibeh was a village and the center of trade and education for Arabs of the area. Consequently, there was a considerable contact between the foreign and local repertoires, including exposure to foreign languages. In the past, Ṭaibeh was the place of much political activity. The social and economic context of Ṭaibeh allowed many Arabs from other places to visit and interact with the local citizens. The interface between the local citizenry and the outsiders both Arab and Israeli are analyzed in this study by the following variables: age, gender, and education and supported by specific examples of native Arabic speakers of Ṭaibeh.

Keywords: phonological variation, repertoire, bilinguals

1. Sociolinguistic background

The evolutionary nature of social norms and structures is associated with the possibilities of generations undergoing either "language maintenance" or "language shift" (Fishman, 1966). Fishman was among the pioneer sociolinguists who addressed these phenomena and reflected on their consequences for the speakers of one community or another. In 1966, Fishman had

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already noted that the amount linguistic input, and not the size of the community, as a crucial factor in maintaining a generation's language. Fishman maintained that deficiency in input leads to language attrition. Holes (1995) adds to Bassiouney's review and Clyne's assertion that not only is the size of the population important for the linguistic change, but also the political importance of those populations. The populations of Egypt and Syria illustrate these transformations; large segments of the populations moved from a rural setting to an urban one while accommodating to the prestigious Cairene and Damascene dialects respectively as a sign of modernization. Clyne (1988), considered the size of the community as a variable. In contrast, Clyne, has stated: "...the size of the community...is not a predictor of language maintenance" (p. 68).

Language is influenced by society, culture, and the speakers who use it for various purposes. Schmidt-Rohr (as cited in Fishman, 1972) identified these purposes in 1932 and called them domains. These domains are: "The family, the playground and the street, the school (subdivided into language of instruction, subject of instruction, and language of recess and entertainment), the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and the governmental bureaucracy..." (Fishman, 1972, p.122). Schmidt-Rohr further explained that these domains help us comprehend language choice and topic in face-to-face encounters (Fishman, 1972).

The language choice speakers make or their attitude toward one linguistic form or another can be traced back to the 50s when Ferguson introduced and defined the term "diglossia," in 1959. Diglossia is when two language varieties are used concurrently, each relegated to a specific context. Diglossic language features a high variety (H) used in formal contexts and a low variety (L) used in less formal contexts. Ferguson further elucidated that the high variety is usually used in interactions with the out-group whereas the low variety is used exclusively with the in-group. Arabic is the classic example for diglossia: *Fusha*, standard Arabic, is considered the high variety used in books, schools, speeches, and news; while the regional dialects are the low form of the language used in everyday interactions, at the home, and in popular TV programs (Myers-Scotton, 2006).

Arabic speakers generally do not use *Fusha* in their daily communication because *Fusha* is perceived as uncommon and solely a form of language found in written books or formal contexts. In a study by Parkinson (1989-90) and documented in Suleiman's book (Suleiman, 1994a), the experimenters interviewed participants in Egypt and requested them to respond exclusively in *Fusha*. The researcher observed various ability levels in the responders' use *Fusha*; some struggled to maintain a fluent *Fusha* and had to resort to the colloquial Arabic; others, to avoid being viewed as superior because of their excellent linguistic abilities, refrained entirely from using *Fusha*. In one case, a lecturer, who primarily used *Fusha* in his lectures, interjected some colloquial words justifying his action as an effort to "break the ice" with his

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students. Parkinson explained this use of the colloquial dialect as the speaker's attempt to demonstrate "loyalty" to interlocutors (Suleiman, 1994a). Such linguistic behavior shows that the interlocutor is accommodating his or her language to better communicate with others.

Speech accommodating further extends to the use of foreign languages in appropriate contexts. The close physical and inevitably close social contact of the more modernized youth of the Arab minority often results in biculturalism and bilingualism (Smootha, 1989; Al-Haj, 1996, p. 25). Spolsky (1988) in his book, *Sociolinguistics* notes that biculturalism and bilingualism relate to *language loyalty*. Language loyalty is perceived as the desire to express one's identity through the use of the native language and its culture, even in situations where this language is not dominant, such as Arabic in Israel. Not preserving language loyalty can endanger one's native language. Spolsky comments that there is a rising concern among linguists that endangered languages, which are not the mainstream languages, are no longer being passed to their children (Spolsky, 1998, p. 55). The endangerment of native languages has led to the theory of language shift (Fishman, 1972) described language maintenance and language shift as,

"...concerned with the relationship between change (or stability) in language usage patterns, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, in populations that utilize more than one speech variety for intra-group or for inter-group purposes" (Fishman, 1972, p.76).

Although Arabic is not an endangered language, the hegemony of Hebrew and English among the Arabic speaking population of Israel makes these arguments relevant. The immersion of the Arab minority in the Israeli society has a great influence on their language. Arab students in Israel often seek their education in Hebrew-medium academic institutions¹ and after completing their studies are often employed in occupations, professions, and jobs in the neighboring Hebrew speaking cities which offer the promise economic stability for them. For example, Israeli Arab college students often study and earn academic and professional degrees in Israeli colleges and universities.

2. Regional linguistic variations of spoken Arabic

"Urbanization has been one of the greatest social changes of the last century in Arab countries" (Miller, 2004: 177). Miller relates to the rapid growth of urban populations in many Arab countries and its social and linguistic ramifications. Bassiouney, in her book *Arabic Sociolinguistics* (2009), reviews the effects of urbanization on social and linguistic

¹ There are tertiary Arabic language colleges in Israel for education, but the study and training for engineering, medicine, law, and many other fields are exclusively offered in the Hebrew at Israeli universities.

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transformations. In many Arab countries, the modernization process began with farmers' migration to the city where they expanded urban social interactions. They created sociolinguistic change by adopting the urban dialect (e.g. Auer et al. 2005, Chambers et al. 2002, Kerswill 2005). In the case of Israeli Arab urban migration, the newcomers have been exposed to modern media and consequently to English and other foreign languages (Amara & Mar'i, 2002).

Fishman (1972) distinguishes the behavior of rural and urban groups claiming,

...urban groups have been “prime movers”, organizers or mobilizers more generally, that is in connection with other than language matters as well as in connection with language behavior and behavior toward language. Thus, whereas small rural groups may have been more successful in establishing relatively self-contained communities which reveal language maintenance through the preservation of traditional interaction patterns and social structures, urban groups, exposed to interaction in more fragmented and specialized networks, may reveal more conscious, organized and novel attempts to preserve or revive or change their traditional language. However, the direction of such change has not always favored language shift at the expense of language maintenance. (p.98)

The Arabic spoken in the city of Cairo offers an example of the linguistic modifications introduced by modernization. Woidich (1994) explains that the Cairene dialect was introduced in the second half of the 19th century after many people had moved from rural areas to Cairo. The stigmatization of the rural dialect caused many rural speech characteristics (specifically, phonetic and dialectical features) to disappear and led to a new linguistic reality (Versteegh, 2001). Among the phonetic changes was the pronunciation change of the sound [q] as a [ʔ]. According to Versteegh, many Egyptians modified their dialect after they encountered the Cairene dialect and even abandoned their original speech forms. This phenomenon of linguistic modification is similar to the case Abdel-Jawad (1986) presents. Abdel-Jawad distinguishes three distinct dialects, the urban Palestinian dialect with a glottal stop [ʔ], the rural Palestinian dialect with a voiceless stop [k̥], and the Bedouin and rural Jordanian dialects with a voiced stop [g]. Abdel-Jawad attributes each dialect and its use to various social motivations. A more thorough explanation about these social motivations is found later in this chapter in the section of *The emergence of vernaculars*.

Similarly, Pereira (2007) conducted a study of Arab speakers in the city of Tripoli highlighting the effects of the urbanization. Pereira found that the movement from nomadic to urban life, the discovery of oil, and the major migration to cities like Benghazi and Tripoli had major sociolinguistic consequences for Libyans. Internal and external migration altered the language of cities such as Tripoli, especially because of migration primarily from Syria, Lebanon, and Tunisia. The influx of immigrants from these countries has hybridized the dialect

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of Tripoli which embraced features from Bedouin dialects, Egyptian colloquial Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and Italian (Pereira 2007, p. 91).

Moghadam (2010) focuses on how urbanization contributes to social change and economic growth, specifically in (MENA) Middle Eastern and North African countries. Moghadam states,

Cities across the region are now participants in the global economy through investments and trade and are linked to the world polity through government involvement in multilateral organizations and international treaties. A growing population has access to the new information and communication technologies that link it to world society and world culture. Women's rights groups are composed of those among this population of urban, educated, and tech-savvy citizens. (p. 20).

Effects of urbanization were reviewed in studies examining the vernacular contact of urban Palestinian and rural/Bedouin Jordanian. Vernacular contact caused variations correlated with gender, ethnicity, religion, and contextual use according to Miller's 2007 report. In this case of urban and rural/Bedouin vernaculars, there is evidence of women's tendency to use the urban vernacular (Palestinian), while men tended to use the Modern Standard Arabic (Amara, 2005) or the rural/Bedouin vernacular (Abdel Jawad, 1986; Sawaie, 1994). Christians also preferred the urban vernacular to the rural one (Amara, 2005).

Urbanization has not only brought sociolinguistic changes, but also social changes in the lives of Arab women. Miller and others reported that the urban vernaculars of these cities were preserved by the older women (Caubet 1998; Dendane 1994; Iraqui-Sinaceur 1998; Jabeur 1996; Messaoudi 2001, 2002; Miller 2004; Trabelsi 1988).

Miller attributed the preservation of the traditional vernaculars by the older women to the social constraints placed on these women's lives and the changes associated with urbanization (Bassiouney, 2009).

Moghadam also shows how urbanization has contributed to the social status of women in MENA countries. Consequently, MENA countries are experiencing lower fertility rates, higher marriage age, shifts in family structure, and higher education levels; all of which attest to the urbanization effect in these countries.

These sociolinguistic changes have been witnessed in Ṭaibeh's history has witnessed migration from the rural traditional village to the city. Reviewing the changes of Ṭaibeh reflects the effects of modernism on its social values. Miller (2007) notes how cities or urban areas were on occasion viewed as a source of linguistic corruption. Yet, she adds that cities were also perceived as places of "civilization, refinement, dynamism and modernity as opposed to the backward rural areas." (p. 12). These contrasting views are both dominant and relevant the contemporary daily discourse of residents in Ṭaibeh.

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3. The emergence of Arabic vernaculars and dialect categorization

Cities are settlement centers of heterogeneous populations. The heterogeneity of city dwellers and the process of modernization/industrialization often accelerate dialectic changes among the locals. Dialect contact and language variation has been extensively studied and researched in the western world, especially in cities experiencing urbanization and industrialization in the 19th and 20th centuries (e.g. Auer et al. 2005, Chambers et al. 2002, Kerswill 2005). A similar interest in the linguistic changes and developments occurring in the Western world has emerged in Arab speaking countries, especially considering that these countries have varying degrees of urbanization. Most of those Arab societies have been rural for a lengthy period of time (Miller, 2007).

The Arab-Muslim conquest in the 7th-8th centuries (CE) led to contact between Arab speakers and non-Arab populations outside the Arabian Peninsula (Donner, 1981; Versteegh, 1997). As a result, "corrupt" Arabic vernaculars developed and the only vernaculars maintaining their "purity" were the Bedouin ones (Miller, 2007). Traditionally, Bedouin speakers were able to avoid those errors in Classical Arabic that resulted from foreign influence (Versteegh, 1997, p. 3). Thus, a close relationship between the Bedouin and Classical Arabic was created (Bassiouney, 2009).

Looking at the political situation of the Middle East from the 14th century until the beginning of the 20th century, we realize that there were foreign ruling powers like the Mamluks, Ottomans, Circassians, and Mongols. In addition, cities attracted many craftsmen from different specialties (Dakhliya, 2004; Raymond, 1993) and many non-Muslim European residents (Boucherit, 2002). All of these alien influences have contributed to the perceived corruption of Arabization of countries. However, once the foreign dominance showed its intensity; voices calling for purifying and preserving Arabic through education and other social practices in general.

Ibn Khaldun noticed changes and influences on local dialects of Arabic. He divided Arabic dialects typologically into Bedouin (*Badawi*), urban (*Madani*), and rural (*Qarawi* or *Fellahin*) Arabic; a division still used by Western dialectologists (1377). Ibn Khaldun's typology claims that the origin of speakers and their families is more significant than their geographical residence. In other words, using the Bedouin dialect does not necessary mean that the speaker is living a nomadic life in the desert. Ibn Khaldun discussed language contact and how foreign languages have negatively influenced pure Arabic spoken by natives in the desert. For example, Ibn Khaldun focused on the pronunciation of 'Qaf' stating that the stress on the Qaf or how the Qaf was pronounced was characteristic to native Bedouin speakers. Yet, the exposure to western languages has led younger speakers to modify the pronunciation of 'Qaf' to an intermediate

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version; a lighter one having a sound somewhere between a thicker sound and a softer one. The modification of this specific sound was committed by young speakers to announce certain social affiliation that was characterized by their knowledge or exposure to additional languages (Ibn Khaldun, 1377, p. 265-266). Barth (1969) has further elaborated on Ibn Khaldun's proposal by who proposing a theory of ethnic boundaries, which basically can be seen as relating the Bedouin to a certain social class or group. The theory of ethnic boundaries is relevant my study, particularly when discussing the choice of the variants of [q] and their connection to certain speakers, regardless of their current geographical locus.

Ibn Khaldun's dialect typology has been useful for identifying linguistic divisions in many countries. In Iraq, a distinction was made between the [q] sedentary dialect and the [g] Bedouin dialect (Jastrow, 2006a). Miller (2007) discusses the Mashreq and North Africa in relation to the dialectical changes. Miller summaries her observations by stating,

...with the progressive settlement of former Bedouin groups, a process of *koineization* occurred which led to the emergence of mixed urbanized vernaculars spoken mainly by Muslim groups (particularly males), while the old city vernaculars were kept by non-Muslim communities and women (Miller, 2007, p.6).

Furthermore, Jordan is an example of the categorization of dialects present in many Arab countries. Bassiouney (2009) citing Cleveland (1963) describes the linguistic situation of Jordan as a highly splintered, with distinctions among the various dialects, an urban Palestinian dialect, a rural Palestinian dialect, a Bedouin Jordanian dialect, and a rural Jordanian one. The difference among these dialects can be highlighted in particular by phonological realization of the consonantal [q]. There are other different features differentiating the dialects, yet, the [q] features are the most noticeable. Suleiman (2004) suggests the above division comes as a consequence of the bloody confrontation between Jordanians and Palestinians in 1970. After 1970 confrontation, Palestinian males began shifting from or adapting their rural and urban Palestinian dialects to adopting the Jordanian one which was considered more prestigious and safer (Suleiman, 2004). In contrast Jordanian males, even after the reconciliation, did not adopt the Palestinian dialect despite it was associated with modernity and education. According to Abdel-Jawad (1986), not accepting the Palestinian dialect was a marker of pride and solidarity.

Arab countries offer sociolinguists a trove of research data on dialect contact. For example, in North Africa there are dialectic distinctions between cities of Bedouin vernacular or *koine* (Oran, Marrakech, Casablanca, Constantine, etc.) and cities of Andalusi dialect (Algiers, Fez, Rabat, Sale, Tunis, Tlemcen, Tangiers, Tetouan, Tripoli, etc.). The urbanization of these cities increased the language contact between Standard Arabic and French or English which consequently led to the spread of language mixing (Miller, 2007).

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Dialect mixing and change are also present in contemporary Iraq, Bahrain, Jordan-Palestine, Lebanon, Yemen, among others. Abu Haidar (2006) contends that the settlement of many Shi'is in Baghdad at the end of the 20th century strengthened the Bedouin Arabic of the city. In Bahrain, there are two related varieties of Arabic and close to the Sunni Bedouin speech (Holes, 2006).

4. Arab and Arab-Israeli sociolinguistics in Israel

Many external factors have affected the status of Arabic in the Levantine area, especially after the establishment of the state of Israel. Camelia Suleiman in her book, *The Politics of Arabic in Israel: A Sociolinguistic Analysis* (2017) addresses to the question of how Arabic attained an official status in the Jewish state. Suleiman cites the analysis of Saban and Amara (2006): "*Historically, Arabic became official because of Article 82 of the Palestine Order in Council in 1922 which was issued by the British Mandate. Yet, the social reality of Arabic in Israel is different in many ways, among them, for instance: is the underrepresentation of Arabic language in road signs and in the court system in Israel. Another aspect in which Arabic has been marginalized is in higher education where there is no Arab university till today, and Arab speakers much be bilingual of Arabic and Hebrew in order to survive their academic education. A case which is not true for their Jewish colleagues.*" (p.125-126).

In 1948, the new State of Israel modified the regulation from the British Mandate era which had English, Arabic, and Hebrew as the official languages of Mandatory Palestine. Yet, the State of Israel's language regulation was far from being clear, according to Spolsky (1994). English was no longer on the list of the official languages. Yet, this omission did not stop English from being widely used second to Hebrew and before Arabic (Fishman, 1977). Spolsky further noted that there are more public signs in Hebrew and English than in Hebrew and Arabic (Spolsky & Shohamy, 1999). Amara and Mar'i (2002) extensively and elaborately contend that Zionist ideology forces and socio-economic factors have contributed to the deterioration of the status of Arabic which has become become marginalized and finally lost its official status in Israel.

The British Mandatory Government left the matters of education to the two language communities, and two separate educational systems were established, one Hebrew and the other Arabic; this pattern continued after the establishment of the State. Today, Arabs living in Israel use their dialectical Arabic informally and are expected to use standard Arabic in schools' formal setting. They acquire Hebrew formally through the school system and informally at work, through medical services, government offices, and commercial contacts (Saban & Amara, 2002).

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Amara and Mar'i describe the status of Arabic in the Jewish State with the Zionist ideology which emphasized the importance of a new identity for its people characterized by the Hebrew person speaking Hebrew and working the Hebrew land. According to this ideology, the Zionists sought distinctiveness was so fiercely implemented that they didn't view Arabic as a threat to their hegemony. As a newly established state, it was important for Israel and its Zionist ideology activists not to outrage the international community, and to maintain the distinctness of Arab and Jewish people within the country; thus, Arabic remained an official language (Amara & Mar'i, 2002).

The policies to increase Arabic language inferiority practiced by the State of Israel from its establishment are reflected in the wide gap between Arab and Jewish pupils. In addition, the requirement for Arab pupils to study in an education system operated and directed by Hebrew speaking officials who entail the teaching of the Hebrew narrative and culture to these pupils intensifies the gap between the two sides. Socially and politically, Arab pupils are also experiencing the celebration of Israeli Independence Day and other Jewish national occasions which are not close to their national narrative (Amara & Mar'i, 2002, p.14).

Palestinians in Israel have not only experienced major linguistic and educational lifestyle changes, but also demographic and socio-economic changes. Demographically, there was also an enormous confiscation of lands owned by Palestinians and many Palestinians were forced to relocate to other villages and cities. The Palestinians were forced them to move from their agricultural field work to the work in neighboring Jewish cities. In addition, villages became urban-oriented nowadays. These changes made Palestinians dependent mainly on Israel's economy while being viewed as less developed than the Israeli citizens (Amara & Mar'i, 2002, p.23-24).

The political practices of the State of Israel towards the Palestinian minority has also influenced their social life. Palestinians' contact with the Jewish population has accelerated their modernization process, leading to easier access or acceptance of bilingualism and biculturalism ((Samoooha 1989; Al-Haj, 1996, p. 25) as presented in Amara and Mar'i, 2002). This exposure to a more modernized world weakened the traditional patriarchal hierarchy in the Palestinian family, decreased role of the Hamula formerly crucial in the life of family members, and finally changed the standard of living the Arabs had enjoyed. Yet, despite the modernization process in many aspects of life, the gap between the Palestinians and the Jews did not decrease and the Palestinians remained inferior (Amara & Mar'i, 2002).

Arabic has suffered various negative attitudes from as early as the establishment of Israel in 1948. According to Ben-Rafael (1994), as stated in Amara and Mari` (2002), Arabic was viewed as the language of the 'weak' or the language of the 'enemy'. This view of Arabic as the language of the enemy prompted many Jews who wished security positions to enroll for learning Arabic.

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Israel's geographic context, surrounded by Arab countries, has even intensified this view of the language. Yitzhaki conducted a study that reveals more extreme attitudes towards Arabic language in Israel. In her 2011 study, she investigated attitudes towards three alternatives, the use of Arabic in public domains in Israel, a Hebrew-Arabic model, and a multilingual model of language minorities in Israel. Yitzhaki found that Arab respondents were more supportive of the use of Arabic in Israel, while Jewish respondents were fearful and unsupportive. Jewish respondents were more tolerant towards multilingualism, yet less tolerant towards bilingualism of Hebrew-Arabic. Yitzhaki concludes her study by stating: "...the majority-minority division is relevant as long as it applies to the ethnic-religious parameter (Jewish-Arabs), but almost completely absent when it applies to linguistic affiliation (speakers of majority language vs. language minorities)." (Yitzhaki, 2011, p. 112).

The negative view of Arabic being the language of the 'enemy' as called by Ben-Rafael (1994) or the modernization process Palestinian Arabs went through due to their exposure and contact with Hebrew and the Jewish community turned the Palestinian dialect within Israel to unique possessing characteristics true only for speakers living within the boundaries of the State of Israel.

Attempts to delegitimize Arabic as an official language in Israel have existed for many years, from 1952; and again in 1980, when the two proposals were rejected in the Knesset (Amara & Mar'i, 2002). Moreover, the rupture between the Jewish and the Palestinian minority in Israel continued to widen until it peaked in 2018 when the Knesset succeeded in passing a law which cancelled the official status of Arabic and granting Arabic a special status (See <https://www.timesofisrael.com/final-text-of-jewish-nation-state-bill-set-to-become-law/>). This law represented a clear discriminative action against Arab citizens of the Israel who have been continuously seeking equality in social, political, economic, and religious aspects among others. There were various attempts by Knesset members to prevent the approval of this new law, but their influence was minimal compared with the large right-wing majority in the Knesset.

The political events in the Middle East, especially the Israeli-Palestinian conflict shaped and contributed to the development of Palestinian-Arabic dialect in Israel. This dialect includes the subdialects of the Galilee, Little Triangle and Negev (Amara & Mar'i, 2011, p.42). Amara and Mar'i discuss factors that contributed to the emergence and change of the Palestinian dialect including exposure to worldwide Arabic media and increased proficiency of standard Arabic, and allowing features from non-Palestinian Arabic dialects to enter the local dialect. Increased education has provided the opportunity for learners to have greater contact and borrowing from Hebrew and English because learning materials are written in these languages. Decreased dependence on agriculture and the movement towards industrialization has increased contact with external dialects through trade, consumer interactions, and other social activities which

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introduced more prestigious urban forms into the village speech. Inter-marriage of villagers with urban women was also mentioned as an influence in the Arabic Palestinian dialect.

Following these changes and developments of the Israeli Arabic-Palestinian dialect, the issue of the use of Hebrew by Palestinian minority speakers within Israel should be addressed. The extent to which Arabs in Israel used Hebrew was limited to young men working with Jewish people or in Jewish cities between the years of 1948-1966. However, today there is intensive daily contact with Hebrew speaking people in all areas of life irrespective of age, gender or education (Saban & Amara, 2002). Not knowing Hebrew is considered an obstacle for Arabs who wish to know how to manage in government offices, employment and higher education (Amara & Mar'i, 2011, p.57). Formally, Hebrew is taught in Arab schools starting from 3rd grade. The raising importance of Hebrew as the dominant language in the country and as a sign of prestige or modernization caused Arab students to neglect their Arabic language mother tongue and only fulfill the minimum school requirements (Suleiman, 2017). The diminishing status of Arabic was described in Camelia Suleiman book as: "Arabic is the victim or the insistence of the Hebrew-only movement, at the same time globalization and the opening up of the market is giving more space to English at the expense of Arabic." (p.133). This quote accurately describes how Hebrew dominance and globalization have undermined Arabic as a language.

The relations between the State of Israel and its Palestinian Arab minority have been unstable and nebulous for many years. In her 2009 article, Amal Jamal describes the nature of these relations; she states that specifically the year 2000, when 13 Palestinian citizens were killed by the Israeli authorities during protests of identification with Palestinians in the West Bank, was a year which strongly marked the fragility of these relations. Jamal has attempted to outline the components required for Palestinians to integrate in the Israeli Jewish society. Jamal describes the criteria for this integration as having Israel as Jewish for Jews and Israeli for Arabs in the way it treated its Palestinian minority. Her justification of the policies Israel practices towards its Arab Palestinian citizens are: Palestinian Arabs did not share the major components of an education, language, religion and military service with the Jewish` citizens (Jamal, 2009). Jamal shows that Arab Palestinian in Israel have been attempting to get accepted in the Israeli society starting from their participation in the elections of 1949 and having representatives in the Knesset. However, their political involvement and activism did not guarantee gaining them equal rights as the Israeli citizens had. Consequently, lacking one of the aforementioned components such as military service was and still an excuse for discriminating against Palestinian Arabs in Israel [e.g. shortage of resources for schools and other institutions] (Jamal, 2009, p. 498).

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5. Arabic and nationalism

Interest in Arab-Israeli sociolinguistics has increased and has attracted research attention beyond that fields of linguistics and Arab studies since Ferguson's 1959 research on diglossia. Researchers of anthropology, folklore, history, political science, and sociology have also investigated the trends and developments (Suleiman, 1994a, 1994b, 1999, Amara & Mar'i, 2002, and others) of Arab-Israeli sociolinguistics. For many years, Arabic has served to define the nationalist ideology and ethnic identity of many speakers of the Arab world (Suleiman, 1994a, 1994b, 2003). Despite political upheavals and government changes [of power] in the different regions of the Arab World Arabic still defines the nationalist ideology and ethnic identity. To understand the varieties of spoken Arabic, their strengths and weaknesses, a thorough review of the language shifts in each region is presented.

In his article, *Nationalism and the Arabic Language*, Suleiman (1994b) reviews the status of the Arabic language in various historical periods beginning with the Ottoman Empire. Suleiman posits that Arabic was primarily a "symbol of group identity and one whose ultimate strength lies in its ability to provide the cultural and instrumental backbone of the group's legitimate objective of furthering its ethnocultural self-interest" (Edwards as cited in Suleiman, p.3) and was not viewed solely as a means of communication among its speakers. In a 1983 symposium held in Baghdad on the "Arabic Language and the Nationalist Awareness," Muhammad Jabir al-Fayyad (cited in Suleiman), compared the Arabic language and Arab nationalism to the air Arabs breathe or to water, each crucial for survival.

Suleiman (1994a) elaborates on the relationship between the Arabic language and Arab nationalism by reviewing their status in the 19th and 20th century. Suleiman presents gamut of opinions on some core issues. Suleiman reiterates the necessity of Arabic language for strengthening Arabic national ideology. Furthermore, Suleiman is concerned whether "Arabic can sustain a secularist Arab nationalist ideology or not" (Suleiman, p.22). Proponents of Arab nationalism believe it could, while Islamic orthodoxy disagreed.

In Algeria, language as a national symbol was controversial and attracted extensive debate on language maintenance and language shift described by Holt (as cited in Suleiman, 1994a). Algerian Arabic has been threatened for more than one hundred and thirty years. French colonialism left deep scars in the Algerian history, especially in relation to language use and policy. Regardless of the symbolic effort by some policy makers and elite classes to assign a prestigious status to standard Arabic, the situation has not improved since many people, while arguing that Algerians should speak Arabic, they continued speaking French. Holt (as cited in Suleiman, 1994a) described the effect of colonialism on Algeria when the only source for education of standard Arabic came from the 'Olama, the Islamists. The effect of colonialism

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and *'Olama* as the exclusive source of education led to a conflict. *'Olama* represented a traditional conservatism which impeded educational social cultural progress and maintained the use of the local Arabic. (Suleiman, 1994a). However, in spite of *'Olama*, colonialism had its sociolinguistic effects. Algerians see Arabic as a national symbol, they rarely use Arabic because French has become the "natural" everyday language used for communication.

Bassiouney (2009), investigated crucial questions about the use of Arabic and its relationship to [national] identity, opens her book with the Egyptian proverb, "The earth speaks Arabic" (p.1). Bossiouney queries why all Arabs consider Arabic as a source of pride yet, paradoxically frequently use other languages such as English and French (Bossiouney, 2009). She attributes the paradox to a gap between Arab speakers' ideology and their use of Arabic [as a mother tongue].

Suleiman discusses the significance of unity of a nation through preserving language. In his book, *The Arabic Language and National Identity*, 2003, Suleiman extensively delves into the argument that Arabic is a precondition for the cultural, religious, educational and ideological unity of a nation. Furthermore, Amara sees the use of mother tongue Arabic in Arab schools in Israel as an act towards the preservation of the language in light of the Hebraization of education. Amara states: "This significant support has enhanced the vitality of Modern Standard Arabic at the individual and community levels, and resisted a significant language shift to the dominant language of the country, Hebrew" (Amara, 2006, p.7).

6. Ṭaibeh as the research focus

It should be noted that not much has been written on Ṭaibeh in academic resources, despite it being a central and big Arab Palestinian city in Israel. Idris is a local Ṭibawi historian who is considered the only one to document Ṭaibeh's history from various aspects; politically, socially, economically, traditionally, religiously, and more. Therefore, Idris was a very central resource to rely on.

Ṭaibeh is an Arab city in the center of Israel, in an area known as "the Triangle" (Najar & Drubi (2020). The name Ṭaiba comes from the Roman term "Ṭibta" the name of the area upon which modern Ṭaibeh is built. The meaning of the word Ṭaibeh (in Arabic) is good-hearted and there is a folk-belief that people from Ṭaibeh are good-hearted. Formerly, Ṭaibeh was also called "Ṭaibat Bani Sa'b" based on the name of the Bani Sa'b people who came with Salah Aldeen Al Ayubi to the area in 1892 (Akil, 2014). Ṭaibeh was first mentioned when Napoleon found Ṭaibeh to be a good and safe passing point on his way to Acre in 1799 (Idris, 2011). These two events link Ṭaibeh with outside influences and languages. Towards the end of the WWI, Ṭaibeh was a military base for the Turkish army headed by Jawad Basha (Idris, 2011).

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Due its central geographical position in the area, Ṭaibeh's economic status flourished. Ṭaibeh has rich ground water that adds enhance the fertility of its soil. Most of the food consumed in Ṭaibeh before 1948 was locally produced. Among the local products was watermelon, figs, and wool (The Palestinian Encyclopedia, 1986, p.129). The location of Ṭaibeh as a trade route over the decades enriched its people with various customs whose maintenance, to some extent, still exist. Farmers in Ṭaibeh used to export agricultural products to Egypt and Lebanon. In the present reality of Ṭaibeh, as a result of urbanization and access to foreign products, local agriculture has almost disappeared.

The history of Ṭaibeh is not limited to its economic and geographic factors, but extends to other dimensions, including religion. The historian Idris (2013) in his third book on Ṭaibeh (*Lu`lu`at Al muḠallaḠ- Alṭaibah Bint Kin'an- alġuz` al rabi`*) noted that many of the important events in the life of the prophet Joseph took place in the western part of Ṭaibeh. In addition, the city has holy monuments of ancient holy Muslim figures reflecting its important religious status among the cities in the area (Akil, 2014, p. 67).

The political complexity of Ṭaibeh is attributed to the sociopolitical structure within Ṭaibeh which includes families from a wide range of regions of the Arab world, including Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula and more (The Palestinian Encyclopedia, 1986, 3rd volume, p. 129). One example given by Idris (2011) is the Jbara family who moved to Ṭaibeh from a region close to Mecca three hundred years ago. The Jbara family was known for their enormous possessions of sheep and horses. Their wealth attracted the Egyptian ruler Ibrahim Pasha who had been sent by his father, Mohammad Ali of Egypt, to conquer Great Syria (which included Palestine). Under Ottoman rule in 1832 He passed through Ṭaibeh to subdue a peasant revolt (Abdul-Raziq, 2014). Consequently, Ibrahim Pasha demanded obedience, something Jbara family strongly resisted. As a result, Ibrahim Pasha imprisoned many of the Jbara family in Acre prison.

During the British Mandate era to and including the beginning of the State of Israel, the ruling body in Ṭaibeh, was headed by the Mukhtar, a traditional tribal leader elected by the village elders to represent them and liaise between them and the authorities (Miller, Y. 1985). Ylana Miller describes the Mukhtarship in Palestine as a representative body who had certain authority over locals and was accepted by foreign authorities in the area (Miller, 1985, p. 54-62). In 1936, the British Mandatory government recognized Ṭaibeh as of a city, but this recognition was rejected by the locals who forced the mandatory government to reverse the decision. They feared that this change might expose them to the western world and might distance them from their religion and traditions. Subsequently, Ṭaibeh remained Mukhtarship. But in 1952, after the establishment of the estate of Israel, Ṭaibeh was governed a municipal council (Akil, 2014). In 1990, the State of Israel officially recognized Ṭaibeh as a city (Akil, 2014, p. 67).

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In his series of books, Idris reviews the history of Ṭaibeh (2009, 2011, 2013). Idris notes that Ṭaibeh was also chosen to be the first Arab city in Israel to have a religious Shari'a court. This court served the entire the Triangle area. This court, with the interaction between the locals and regional visitors increased the sociolinguistic heterogeneity of the city. Previously, numerous individuals from Ṭaibeh (including Hasan Almansur who held a position in the Ottoman parliament before World War I) had been involved in the Ottoman courts and judicial systems (Idris, 2011).

The presence of nonlocals, either for court appearances, education, or commerce in Ṭaibeh brought language variation to the cit. People visiting Ṭaibeh from cities like Jerusalem, Yaffo, and Ṭulkarem increased the social interaction of citizens with foreign languages and cultures which in turn influenced the traditional lifestyle of locals.

Education in Ṭaibeh was and still is considered a major social status marker. In the past, the local population sought knowledge and advice from the experiences and religious knowledge of the Mukhtar or elders. In 1883 the first school, called the *Kuttab*, was created in Ṭaibeh. The *Kuttab* was a simple traditional room where older people taught local young boys. During the British mandate, thanks to the initiative of Rafiq Al-Abd Alraziq who was a prominent intellectual of Ṭaibeh, some girls were admitted to the *Kuttab* (Idris, 2011).

Despite the increase in local education in Ṭaibeh, traditional practices and folklore are maintained. Traditions and folklore have been rooted in the history of the city and residents of this area for generations. Idris (2011) indicates that the folklore and traditional songs were a way of expressing the common people's feelings, worries, hopes, and ambitions. For instance, some traditional songs praising guests at weddings and their social gatherings have survived as in the following example:

- *Masik bil-khir yalli ġai w mata 'nimasik bil-khir ma 'alik mini...*

English translation: Good evening our guest. You who bring me joy come and join me with no worries.

- (Idris, 2011, p.133)

Reading the above verses reflects the feeling of city's people expressing their joy at having guests and socializing. People in Ṭaibeh are known for their tremendous affection for welcoming others.

7. The phonological variables /q/ and /tʃ/ in the Ṭibawi repertoire

7.1 Speakers' attitudes towards dialectical varieties

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According to Cooper and Fishman (1974), attitudes in sociolinguistics define a speech community and measure success in second language learning. Language attitudes serve other functions, such as a "catalyst for sound change" (Cooper & Fishman, 1974, p.5). Fasold emphasizes that "the course of a sound change is apparently influenced by whether the change is favored or disfavored by the speech community" (Fasold, 1984, p. 184). For example, "Cairene speakers (including the former migrant population) tend to drop what they consider 'rural features' and shift to a more elevated urban shift" (Versteegh & Dejong, 2004, p.8).

Furthermore, Benrabah (1992) also examined formerly rural language speakers' reactions to their language change when adopting an urban dialect. Mothers were more conservative in adopting the new dialect; while the daughters were more open to language change and a wider use of the urban variety. Bentahila (1983) used a matched guise test to elicit attitudes and judgments on Arabic-French usage by bilinguals in Morocco. The study provided participants with examples of the languages or varieties of recorded text passages. The speakers are then asked to evaluate the "speakers' traits" (e.g. Lambert, et al, 1960). Bentahila revealed that participants who spoke Parisian French were rated higher for prestige, education, and social status than those who speak Arabic. However, code-switching between Arabic and French was viewed as less prestigious (Benrabah, 1992).

Suleiman (1994a) elaborates on Giles' studies (1970 and 1971) that replicated studies done in the Arab world on language attitudes. For instance, El-Dash and Tucker (1975) studied Egyptian attitudes toward five speech varieties: "Cairene Egyptian Arabic, Classical Arabic, Egyptian English, American English and British English." They found a preference for Classical Arabic which speakers identified with leadership, intelligence, friendliness, and religious observance.

In Arabic, speakers' attitudes towards changes in the spoken dialects often relate to the different variations of the Q phonological variable. Sawaie (1994) studied Jordanian-Palestinians' preference of the four variant pronunciations of [q]: [q], [ʔ]-glottal stop-, [g], and [k]. The [q] variant among males was rated the highest, [k] and [g] received less favorable ratings while [ʔ] was the least favored because the sound of [ʔ] is viewed as effeminate. The study showed females preferred the more prestigious urban varieties (the [ʔ] sound); these results correspond with the results of other studies (e.g. Abd-el-Jawad, 1986, Boukous, 1979, Cadora, 1970; Suleiman, 1985). Suleiman conducted a study that elaborated the reasons females, especially university students, favored the urban "*Madani*" speech featuring the [ʔ] pronunciation. These reasons Suleiman cites include "(1) the high socio-economic conditions of urban speakers who are (2) more educated and live in (3) influential cultural centers from which cultural and artistic innovations spread to other areas" (Sulieman, 1985, p. 44). Therefore, females can be considered the leading forces for language change.

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Cotter and Horesh (2015) focused on three Q variables: (ʕ), (AH), and (Q) of dialect divergence in coastal Palestine (Jaffa). They highlighted the link between dialect contact and identity and found that these variables change when in contact with other varieties of Arabic and Hebrew. Cotter and Horesh noticed that the (Q) variable tends to demonstrate more change in the Jaffa community because of the greater contact with Hebrew. The Jaffa community is more accepting than Gaza to these variant pronunciations. Regarding gender differences, Cotter and Horesh claimed that the realization of (Q) by female speakers in non-urban communities “is often dismissed as an imitation of urban speech or a desire to sound ‘feminine’ or ‘delicate.’” (p.477). The results confirm women as leaders of linguistic innovation.

In a related study examining the linguistic behavior of Israeli Arabic speakers, Al-Ali and Mahmoud Arafa (2010), found gender and educational differences in the use of linguistic variants. Men and women, with only a high school education, tend more to use local variants; whereas men and women with a university education tend more to adopt non-local prestigious variants. They concluded their study by stating, “Male and female speech behavior depends on social priority. Men are driven by the concept of masculinity and toughness, while women are driven by prestige and softness.” (p.220)

Homs, Syria presents another case of when the Q changes into [ʔ] is viewed as the behavior of colloquial speech adopted by the younger generation. In contrast, linguistic maintenance is more likely to characterize the older generation’s speech (Habib, 2010). Habib further emphasizes women’s preference for prestigious speech choices (cf. Trudgill 1972; Eckert 1988, 1990),

“Language becomes an escape gate to the world around them. It becomes a tool to declare their difference from and superiority over men in one aspect of life, as Habib (2005: 27) asserts: Women probably compensate for their general social inferiority in Syrian society by presenting themselves as more linguistically capable and prestigious (...) They may be more inclined towards the prestigious forms because of the social pressure that is imposed on them: sounding pleasant and aspiring to appear more educated and urban, so that they can attract a good husband from a good social status and prosperous economic position.” (Habib, p.86)

Enam Al Wer studies the changes in the vocalization of Q in Arabic. In Enam Al Wer and Herin study (2011), ‘The lifecycle of Qaf in Jordan’ they show that the study of Q is relevant for many countries of the Arab world. In the traditional Damascene dialect, the glottal stop is the normal realization and the occurrence of [q] is largely confined to learned lexical items borrowed from the standard in semi-casual speech or in formal monitored speech. In their opinion, [q] pronunciation is not a linguistic variable in Damascus, Beirut, or Jerusalem. Al Wer and Herin has also noted that in Cairo, the [q] sound is governed by choice. Their review of /q/ in Jordan showed the sound was a result of contact with urban Levantine dialects, including

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urban Palestinian. Variations of this variable started in Jordan (Amman and Salt), a place with migrant families of Palestinian origin. In Jordan, the /q/ sound was used mainly by Palestinians in the 1930s. More importantly, the appearance of [ʔ] was initiated in the speech of women in Amman in the 50s-70s, and later spread to other areas of Jordan (Al Wer & Herin, 2011). Again, women led the change. Al Wer and Herin (2011) suggested that the political, social, and economic pressures in Jordan in the 80s and 90s led to the [g] variant associated with men's speech, and the [ʔ] sound was associated to the speech of urban women. Jordanian speakers in Amman continue to use [g] to emphasize their Jordanian identity (Al Wer & Herin, 2011). In his book, 'Arabic, Self and Identity', Suleiman (2011) relates to the variations of Qaf in Jordan in the last three decades. Suleiman emphasizes that the choice of the Qaf variant was determined by the ecological backgrounds, education, and age of the speakers, especially among Jordanian men who tended to adopt the /k/ and /g/ variants. In contrast, women in Jordan shifted towards the glottal stop [ʔ]; a shift mainly affected by the age and educational background. Interestingly; Suleiman reasons these shifts were driven by the urbanization in the Levant while men's linguistic choices were driven by the political conflict in the country in the beginning of the 70s (when clashes erupted between the Jordanian state and the Palestinian guerrilla movements). In either case, the linguistic choices reflected the speakers' identity (Suleiman, 2011, p.12).

Al Wer (2007) also researched the outcomes of dialect contact in different contexts in Amman. Al Wer summarizes the use of the [g] and [ʔ] among Jordanian speakers by the following categories: [ʔ] is used among Palestinian boys when speaking to each other, and when talking to girls. However, [g] is mainly used among Jordanian boys and mixed groups. She suggests that [g] is viewed as old-fashioned, yet attractive because the [g] sound is used by high ranking officials in Jordan. Al Wer notes an interesting hierarchy of dialects by adults and youth in Jordan. Adults come to Amman with their original dialects and their exposure to a mixture of dialects is moderate. Young people's exposure to the diverse dialects in Amman confuses them in terms of their use [g] or [ʔ]. Presumably, Palestinian men and Jordanian women use [g] and [ʔ] in different contexts; Jordanian men adhere to the [g]; and Palestinian women consistently use [ʔ] (Al Wer, 2007). This distinction confirms the effects of dialect contact in the Jordanian population.

The next chapter examines language contact and linguistic fluctuations among multilinguals. This chapter provides a deeper understanding to why multilingual Taibeh residents have experienced a repertoire change.

7.2 Theories used for analysis of my data:

In the qualitative analysis of the data, I found validation in several theories.

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The Group Socialization Theory of Development and the Matrix Language Frame model (Harris, 1995) states:

... socialization is context-specific and that outside-the-home socialization takes place in the peer groups of childhood and adolescence. Intra- and intergroup processes, not dyadic relationships, are responsible for the transmission of culture and for environmental modification of children's personality characteristics. (p. 458)

Group Socialization Theory of Development does not state that children can develop without their parents, but states that, to a great extent, the community outside the home shapes children's personality. For instance, unlike parents who normally speak a new language with less competence than their children, the children of Arab immigrants to Europe or America adopt the new lifestyle and language of the host country as well as the accent and speech of the language of their new home. In the case of Arab-Israeli speakers; the parents maintain the traditional speech style, while children choose abandon the traditional and adopt for new varieties and linguistic behavior introduced by the social media, education, and westernization. In both cases, the Arab immigrants to a foreign speaking culture and Israeli Arab youth exposed to Hebrew and English, although the directionality is not same, the outside the home culture impacts linguistic behavior.

The dissertation also refers to the Matrix Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton, 2006) for code-switching which she describes code-switching as a phenomenon when

“...speakers must be proficient enough in the language structuring the clause so that they can follow the well-formedness constraints of that language in providing the morphosyntactic frame for the bilingual clause. Speakers may also be very proficient in the other language involved; some proficiency is necessary, but a high degree of proficiency is not so critical.” (p.242)

Myers-Scotton claims that there is no symmetry between the languages in ‘classical code-switching’. Despite their proficiency differences in Hebrew and English and their diverse education levels, participants in our study performed ‘classical code-switching’. The Hebrew and English code-switchings fill a range of fluency, social and political motivations. The Matrix Language Frame model supports the results of the data where different participants were able to perform code-switchings to Hebrew and English, regardless of differences in proficiency or education.

Another theory I found relevant to my study is the Speech Accommodation theory (Bourhis & Giles, 1977). The goal of the Speech Accommodation theory is to understand shifts in speech styles. Core concepts of accommodation include convergence and divergence. "Convergence has been defined as a strategy whereby individuals adapt their communicative behaviors to become more similar to their interlocutor's behavior. Typically, this is done to seek approval,

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affiliation, and/or interpersonal similarity as a manner of reducing social distance." (Soliz & Giles, 2014, p. 4).

In contrast, "divergence leads to an accentuation of speech and nonverbal differences between the self and the other. Often (but not always) the motive behind divergence is precisely the desire to emphasize distinctiveness from one's interlocutor, expressively highlighting contrasting group identities. A phenomenon similar to divergence is maintenance, where a person persists in his or her original style, perhaps for reasons of authenticity or consistency, regardless of the communicative behavior of the interlocutor (Bourhis, 1979)" (cited in Soliz & Giles, 2014, p. 5).

Over the years, the Speech Accommodation theory underwent several refinements and is now also called the Communication Accommodation theory (CAT), which explains and predicts an individual's behavior seeking to decrease social distance while interacting. CAT also relates how we perform these actions, the reasons and outcomes of our behavior. Among the refinements taking place was the inclusion of nonlinguistic aspects (e.g., dress, hair styles, cosmetics, and eating patterns) of people's social behavior as they seek accommodation while communicating with others (Giles, & Ogay, 2007).

Participants in our study had numerous motivations for their linguistic choices, some for ideological; while others were better communication or reducing social distancing. The analysis of their linguistic choices can be explained and supported by the Speech Accommodation theory.

Furthermore, I refer to the Ecology of Language theory (Haugen, 1972), that claims languages interact with each other and with their environment. Haugen also stated that "the ecology of language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others" (Haugen, 1972, p. 325). The environment or context of my participants' conversations contributed to their language choices. Our data showed that participants often chose lexemes by the setting of the discourse or their speech partners.

Finally, the Community of Practice Theory introduced by Lave and Wenger is cited. Wenger summarized the theory by stating, "Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly". (Wenger, 2011, p.1). Not every community constitutes a "Community of Practice". Wenger stressed three crucial elements for a "Community of Practice", community, practice, and domain (Wenger, 2011). Others defined a community (of Practice) as:

"an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations- in short, practices- emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a CofP is different from the traditional

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community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages." (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 1999, p. 176).

These theories provide insights in the changes a speech community have when in close contact with another and helped me better understand and explain the language developments in the city of Ṭaibeh since 1948.

8. Research hypotheses and methodology

8.1 Research questions

- **The research questions of this study are:**

- 1) What are the prominent linguistic features of the *Ṭibawi sociolinguistic repertoire?
- 2) What social factors influence the Ṭibawi linguistic repertoire?
- 3) How do variables of age, gender, and education affect the phonological varieties of the Ṭibawi linguistic repertoire?

9. Hypotheses

The hypothesis of this study is that the linguistic repertoire of Ṭaibeh is changing as the result of modernization. Age, gender, education, social group solidarity, traditions, and perhaps identity contribute to change in the Ṭibawi repertoire. These factors correlate with the speakers' choice and use of certain phonological forms (e.g. /q/, tʃ). In addition, these factors can trigger of code-switched or loan words in the speech of participants. Other hypotheses include:

- 1) The speakers' age affects the degree language changes in their discourse. Younger speakers are more accepting of language change.
- 2) The male and female Ṭibawi linguistic repertoire differ due to prevailing attitudes and stereotypes in the community.
- 3) The speakers' educational influences the level of linguistic change and varieties of spoken Arabic. Higher education and greater exposure to foreign languages raises the probability to changes in the community repertoire.
- 4) The speech context determines the extent to which the speakers' Arabic integrates change and adds new varieties. Formality can constrain the use or acceptance of added forms.
- 5) National identity may contribute to maintenance or change speakers' Arabic repertoire. Maintaining Arabic and rejecting language change may be a national identity marker. In contrast, accepting changes in Arabic may considered as a sign of modernization and globalization.

10. Methods

10.1 Participants

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The study included 63 (30 males and 33 females) participants from Ṭaibeh. Some participants have been to English and Hebrew in non-local schools and others were educated exclusively in local Ṭaibeh schools. All participants live Ṭaibeh city in the Triangle area. The ages of the young group range from 12 to 35 years old. The adult participants were over 36 years old.

The effects of age, gender, education, social class, economic status, group solidarity and traditions, parents influence, and religious affiliation were investigated on the study sample.

10.2 Materials and Design

To assure reliability and validity, the study used three sociolinguistic experimental methods. First, participants completed a demographic background questionnaire (See appendices). Second, the participants completed a written survey of their linguistic attitudes (See appendices). The third phase was an oral interview (See appendices) in participants' homes, sports clubs, café's, the mall, etc. The interview was about their life in Ṭaibeh while relating to traditional, linguistic, identity aspects, etc. Interviews were recorded and then transcribed. Anthropological analysis of individual participants' background is provided in an attempt to explain and validate participants' language behavior.

10.3 Procedure

Participants of the study were informed about the purpose of the research and asked to sign a consent form for their voluntary participation. The interviews and the recording sessions were held in the participants' homes, sports clubs, malls, café's, or work places.

The interviewer (the researcher) was born and lives in Ṭaibeh. Some of the interviewees know the interviewer, while others had not known her before the interview. Since, no research can be claimed to be totally unbiased; it could be that some of the interviewees have accommodated their speech during their responses. Some interviewees were familiar with the academic, linguistic, and research background of the researcher. In addition, some were aware of the social status the researcher possesses as a social activist in the Ṭibawi community. These factors might have influenced some of the responses interviewees provided. Having said this, I did my best to keep the research professional.

10.4 Transcription and data analysis

All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. Phonological variables /q/ and /tʃ/ were analyzed to find the effect of age, gender, and education.

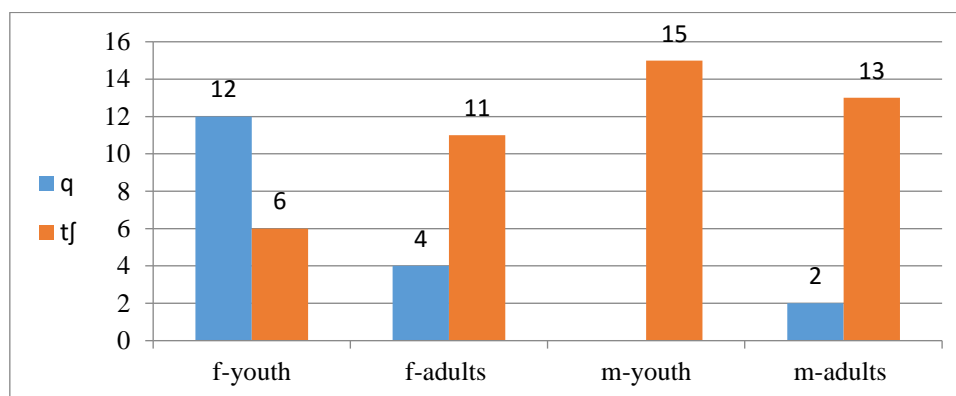
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11. Results and findings

11.1 The phonological variable of /q/ and /tʃ/ in the Ṭibawi repertoire

This study reports both participants' perception of their use of /q/ and /tʃ/. In addition, the interview transcripts were analyzed for their active use of the two significant variables in *Fellaḥi* or everyday speech. I will first present the data from the transcribed interviews for both age and gender groups. Diagram 1 shows the use of the variables by age and gender.

Diagram 1. [q] Variations and stereotypes among different interlocutors



Note: the examples of Arabic and Hebrew transcriptions were transliterated according to Hebrew and Semitic languages transliteration rules, provided by Bar Ilan University and based on the Encyclopedia Judaica, 2007, (see appendices).

The interview data reflect the use of the 'q' variables in the Ṭibawi community: Male youths do not use the 'q' sound at all and instead they use the 'tʃ' sound which is associated with *Fellaḥi* speech. However, female youths more frequently use the 'q' sound associated with the speech of educated or modern Arabic speech. Adults, both male and female, generally use the 'tʃ' sound more frequently thereby, maintaining² the traditional *Fellaḥi* speech style of their ancestors. Below is an example of the use of /q/ and /tʃ/ by a female and a male speaker, respectively. The male adult is a chauffeur from a traditional family and whose parents were villagers (i.e. *Fellaḥin* and landowners in Ṭaibeh). He says:

Note: all the transcriptions in this text are in italics. The Arabic and the translated English are in italics. The /q/ and /tʃ/ variables are marked in bold.

N.B. The translation from Arabic to English was done by the author/interviewer.

*Ana baht**q**ilit**f** ana 'an ḥali....baht**tʃ**iš 'an...ana rayi het**f***

²* Ṭibawi is an adjective used to describe a person who is from the local Ṭaibeh community.

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(I am speaking of myself...not talking about...this is my opinion)

Later in the conversation speaker says:

'la fitfra wzaman baqen yeṭla'en yiṣṭyelen ya'ni

(By the way, also in old times they [females] used to go to work)

The pronunciation of the word *'fitfra'* (*'fikra'* means “idea”, but in the above colloquial context *fikra* means “by the way”) is associated with *Fellaḥi* or older speakers. The age and family affiliation of the speaker is characterized in this speech. A young or educated person would never say *'fitfra'*. This pronunciation analysis also possibly assumes the speaker's ideology and his loyalty to his rural roots. as well as possibly assumes his resentment towards his urban life and the political reality Israel has imposed on him as a former villager or "fellaḥ".

Another example of change in particular speaker's phonological variable comes from a conversation of four educated females in a local café (2 youths and 2 adults). They spoke for two hours exclusively using the 'q' sound. Although they didn't use the /tʃ/ sound, perhaps because of their education; they claimed that the /tʃ/ sound pronunciation is typical of the Ṭibawi repertoire. The following statement was produced by one of the women, a speech therapist:

Yimkin la`eni ana bafakir kif kul 'havaya' elwalad bumruqha yimkin ...el tafkir elzayed hu ele bisa'ib `aleh

(Maybe because I think of the 'experience' (a Hebrew borrowing) the child goes through maybe...too much thinking is what makes things harder...)

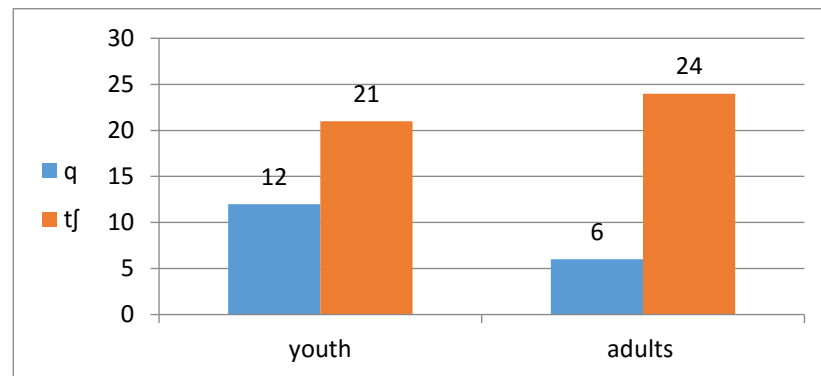
This speech therapist comes from a very religious *Fellaḥi* family. Her father is a carpenter and her mother is a nurse. She was raised in a home where they primarily used the /tʃ/ sound in their conversations. Being raised in a family whose children all sought higher education in Israeli universities, she became a speech therapist. she chooses to use the /q/ sound of Standard Modern Arabic form. Her phonological choice might reflect an attempt to camouflage her rural speech and accept modern Arabic speech, an acquiescence to her new educated lifestyle. Many in Ṭaibeh have accepted modern Arabic speech, after the establishment of the State of Israel and the social, economic, political changes brought to Ṭaibeh, formerly a simple village.

Participants of various ages (both genders) reported diverse phonological practices in relation to the use of the phonological sound /q/ or /tʃ/. Below is the number of participants, per category, who reported different uses.

The [q] variation by category:

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Diagram 1a. Age of interlocutors



The use of 'q' is typical primarily of younger speakers. The usage may indicate that the young people are shifting to the more modern speech style, or to the language of the more educated of the Arab community. Young people are considered more tolerant of the socio-economic lifestyle changes of the minority Arab community attempting to be accepted among the Hebrew speaking majority. Their social life and thus, even their linguistic behavior is more flexible and tolerant.

Education and family status in the community affect the speech style used by youth. A clear example comes from a young female teacher and her husband who is a lawyer in their hour and a half conversation using the 'q' sound. She comes from a family where the father is a school principal and the mother is a retired teacher. Her family is the largest extended family in Ṭaibeh. The family's social status probably obliges the speaker to adopt the *Madani* speech style:

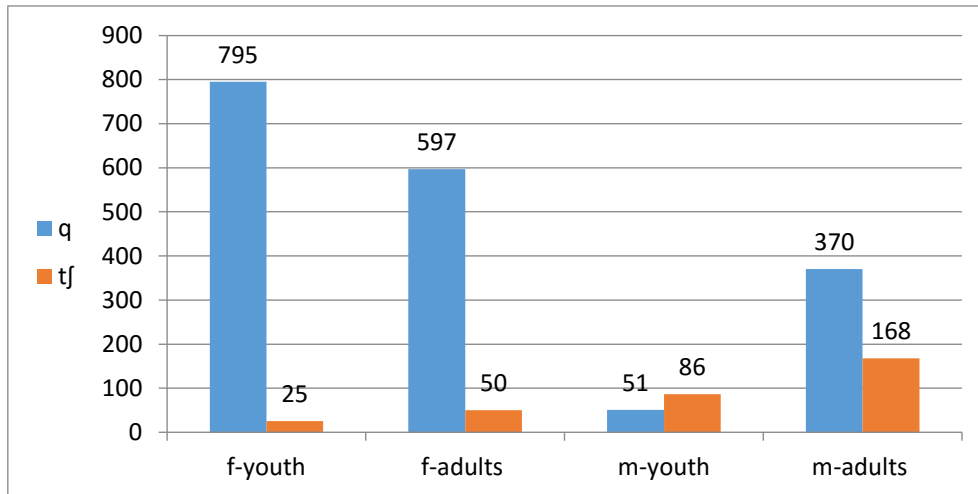
kØir šaylat bardu kan kØir bištiyluš ya bištiylu bi masani' bi zira'a ya m'almi aw mumarida, elyom fi kØir ašya`...

(There are also many things, there were many [people] who worked in factories in agriculture, worked as teachers or nurses, but today there are more things [(i.e. professions)])

This teacher and her lawyer husband, as members of an educated family, are expected to use Modern Standard Arabic. In the interview for this study, they met these expectations. The grandparents of this family are villagers and landowners in Ṭaibeh, yet, the grandchildren chose a modern lifestyle reflected by both in their social interactions and especially their speech behavior. This choice also alludes to the new reality of modern lifestyle including a weakening of patriarchal authority and its influence on family members. The younger generation chooses to adopt and accept the modern characteristics of language and other social dimensions to more easily navigate their way up the social strata. These youths reflect their social climbing through language.

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Diagram 1b. The frequency of /q/ and /tʃ/ variables across the age groups.



Females lead in the use of the ‘q’ sound, consistent with the hypothesis that women are language innovators. Females adopt the speech style associated with modernism and education to elevate and strengthen their social position in the community. In contrast, ‘tʃ’ was more common among males, both in the youth and adult groups, stressing their stronger sense of identity and connection to the traditional speech style of *Fellahi*. In addition, the increased use of ‘tʃ’ by males is a possible sign of expressing their masculine identity and the common belief that ‘q’ is viewed as feminine and higher class.

I interviewed a young English teacher with her old mother who works as a counselor at an afterschool youth center. The two women come from a very large and prestigious family in Taibeh. Both primarily used the ‘q’ sound throughout the entire meeting. However, there was one instance when the mother had a slip of the tongue and used ‘tʃ’ in one word and then corrected herself again and returned to ‘q’. This slip indicated how strict or important following the speech code associated with prestige, education, or an elevated social status is for females in Taibeh. Below is the mother’s statement:

Bakdar aqul atʃØar aw aqal, yimkin akØar bas qabil kaman kan zawağ, akØar ya’ni zawağ min yahudiyat batØakkar ya’ni...

(I can say more or less, maybe more but early on there was also more marriage with Jewish women as far as I can remember...)

The above example clearly shows the speaker made sure she chose ‘q’, although at the beginning of her speech she produced ‘tʃ’. Another possible explanation for this example maybe that the speaker usually uses ‘q,’ but her work in the after-school center and her contact with

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youth in the center (considered a low-intermediate socio-economic area with a population of working parents) sometimes influenced her speech practices which led her to the usages of ‘tʃ’.

Another example of a ‘q’ choice comes from a group of ten male youths I met at a local café; some had academic degrees and others did not. What characterized their speech was the ‘tʃ’ sound which perhaps was a marker or an attempt to reflect their masculinity and *Fellaḥi* side. Using ‘tʃ’ was evident despite their educational background. Yet, their educational background has initiated code-switching to Hebrew throughout their interactions. Below is an excerpt from a young photographer who commented on the importance of female education:

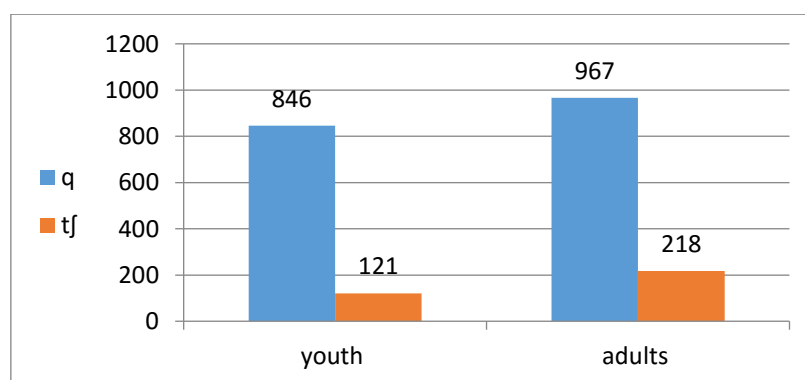
elbinit t'alamt wela mat'alamateš' ...etʃamel hayatha... etʃamel bdar ġozha ...bisrif 'aleha, bi moġtama'na hetʃ binkas el eši.

(Whether the girl got an education or didn't, she can go on with her life, she can continue in her husband's house...he can afford it, in our society that's how things are measured.)

In the above passage, the young man, with an academic degree was arguing with other academics, including the interviewer (myself), on women's education. The young photographer spoke using ‘tʃ’ and did not accommodate his speech to that of his interlocutors. The lack of accommodation might be interpreted as the male's attempt to maintain the colloquial style of his ancestors, or to distance himself from ‘feminine’ speech style.

In the data collected, the distinction between youth and adults in the frequency of using /q/ or /tʃ/ is noticeable. Below is a raw count of the phonological variables in their colloquial speech.

Diagram 1c. Youth vs. adults:



Adults' use of the ‘tʃ’ sound is double (in the count) of that of their younger counterparts; which again emphasizes adults' maintenance of their traditional and cultural identity. Nevertheless, there is no significant difference in the use of ‘q’ among youth and adults. This

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might indicate that neither age nor education were deciding factors in their pronunciation choice.

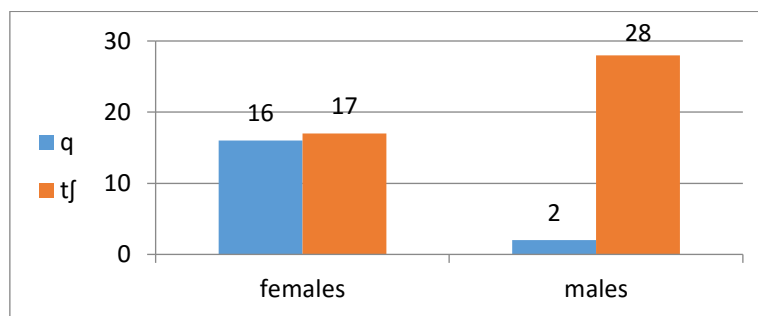
Adult speech style in this study was generally related to traditional values and Tibawi speech characteristics. The quote of a female retired Arabic language teacher supports our results. The quotation comes from an interview over a family Friday afternoon lunch:

Elyom tinsiš šu bikulu el nas; šihaditf slahitf

(Don't forget what people say today, your [female] education (certificate) is your weapon)

In spite of her education and social background; the speaker a retired teacher, spoke in the *Fellaḥi* style. Her *Fellaḥi* style can be explained by the family gathering with her need to accommodate others to strengthen her sense of group solidarity. Therefore, family heritage, traditions context, seem to oblige speakers to follow certain speech styles.

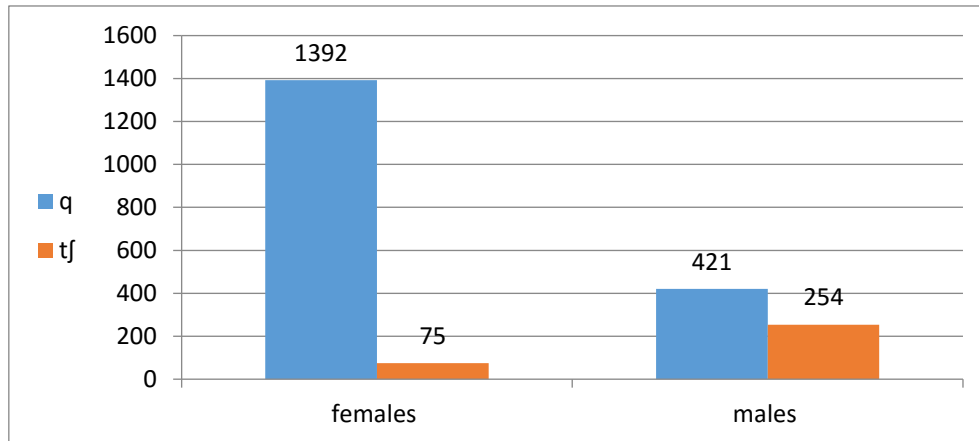
Diagram 2. Gender differences



The phonological variables ‘q’ and ‘tj’ reflected gender differences. Males, as a mark of their masculine identity, use ‘tj’ more frequently than females (Al Wer & Herin, 2011). In contrast, females tend to use ‘q’ as a discourse marker for their modern identity as ‘educated person’, and rejection of their traditional and heritage speech style.

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Diagram 2a. Frequency of /q/ and /tʃ/ by gender:



The phonological frequency among males and females was a strong indicator of gender differences. Females' use 'q' almost three times more often than males. Females' speech style tends to be more modernized, shifting from the traditional style. In contrast, males outnumber the female participants threefold in their use of 'tʃ', showing a stronger traditional identity, regardless of the modernism invading the Tibawi community.

The following example supports the above statistics for the polarity of male female /q/ and /tʃ/ use. When I interviewed an adult female construction engineer from a very traditional *Fellaḥi* family, she primarily used 'q'. The social status of this female construction engineer (who primarily works among males) requires her to follow the higher status variation to show and prove her superiority at work says:

fī el ṭaybe nas mlah...w-fī sukkan kØir mnaḥ....ana 'anḡad bafakir lawini 'ayiš bara, bafakir...lamaslahat awladi...

(In Ṭaibeh, there are good people...and there are very good residents...I really think if I were living outside of it...I am thinking... mainly for the benefit of my kids).

12. Education and occupation of participants

This following section addresses the educational and occupational background of participants. Examining the educational background of participants reveals that eight males in the study had no higher education; however, only two females had no higher education. Since this difference is not statistically significant and with the limited number of participants in the study, the individual linguistic practices of speakers in relation to each of their educational or occupational backgrounds was examined. Below, are examples of participants' transcriptions in which their educational background clearly affected their speech:

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The following three short examples from the interview data support the effect of education on phonological choices.

- 1) A female youth, a young college student, was speaking about the social change in Ṭaibeh, she said:

Bardu bafakir inu ah tyayarat kØir el Ṭaibeh, ...saru akØar 'indhum mustawa Øaqafi aḥsan min ahlhum w-hek...inu lazem a' ti lawladi aḥsan lazem a' ti lamuḡtama' i w-abna` baladi akØar.

(I also think that, yes, Ṭaibeh changed a lot...they became more educated than their parents and such, ...that I have to give my kids better things that I have to give my society and people more.)

The above example of the college student shows that although she was raised in a family where they primarily used in the 'tʃ' pronunciation, her status as a female college student require her to adopt the 'q' variant associated with education and social prestige.

- 2) An adult female, a retired teacher, with an academic degree. said the following about her childhood:

Awal iši el waḥad bitØakkar elsiyar, heki kif ḥayatu w-huwi syir...makunnaš nfakkir bilmot wel-amrad elmawḡudi elyom.

(First, one remembers childhood and his life as a kid...we didn't think about death and illnesses that we have today)

The above example shows that despite her age, the speaker chose the 'q' sound relevant or expected from someone with an academic degree.

- 3) A female adult, housewife with no academic education, used 'tʃ'; even though she was interacting with two academics.

Elyom el-'a`ilat tʃØir tyayarat, sar elšab mayrudiš ḥatta law fi tʃbir...

(Today families have changed a lot, youth stopped listening even in the presence of an adult)

Her lack of academic degree and her age seem to be marked by her *Fellaḥi* speech style.

In conclusion, when examining the speech patterns of the Arab-Israelis of Ṭaibeh, education seems to be crucial and may be a marker of for social mobility. Males seem to retain traditional speech styles while females seem to be innovators and adopt modern speech style.

13. Conclusions, discussion, and future research

This sociolinguistic study examined the city of Ṭaibeh by four research questions. The questions were: 1) What are the prominent linguistic features of the Ṭibawi sociolinguistic repertoire? 2) What social factors influence the Ṭibawi linguistic repertoire? 3) How do the variables of age, gender, and education affect the phonological varieties of the Ṭibawi linguistic repertoire?

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The research hypotheses were that the data would reveal linguistic features of the Ṭibawi repertoire were effects the urbanization. The hypotheses further stipulated that: a) youths would be more open to linguistic changes (including code-switching and borrowing). b) Ideological beliefs or stereotypical preconceptions affect linguistic practices among the genders. c) the higher the speakers' education the larger the linguistic change (in relation to the phonological change). d) the discourse context affects the participants' speech when choosing their phonological variant. e) speakers' national or traditional identity affect their speech patterns; some speakers choose to emphasize their traditions by their language (their *Fellahi* style or pure Arabic); while others choose to distance themselves from traditions by their linguistic practices.

The study included 63 participants, ages of 12-35 (youth) and ages of 36 and above (adults). The participants were divided by age and gender, female youth and adults and male youth and adults. For reliability and validity, the study used both qualitative and quantitative measures. First, participants answered a demographic background questionnaire, followed by a written survey of their linguistic attitudes. Last, I conducted an interview with each participant about leisure time activities, and their social interactions with friends, and family members. The interview also included questions about Ṭibawi life, specifically traditional, sociolinguistic, identity aspects, etc. The transcribed data were analyzed for the phonological variables /q/ and /tʃ/ among the age and gender groups. The analysis of the collected data confirmed our hypotheses.

The phonological variable analysis revealed several findings. The results of the self-report data from the interview on the pronunciation of phonological variable were: Males (youths and adults) generally used /tʃ/ at home, while female youths tended to use the /q/ pronunciation and female adults used /tʃ/. The results might be explained by two different sociolinguistic assertions: 1) The Group Socialization Theory of Harris supports the results, females are viewed as more influenced and affected by their social context. 2) The data might be supported by presumption that traditional vernaculars are maintained by older generations (Miller, 2004). Moreover, females were viewed as change leaders in the linguistic landscape in many societies like Jordan, Palestine, Syria among others (Abdel Jawad, 1986; Sawaie, 1994; Cadora, 1970; Suleiman, 1985; Boukous, 1979; Cotter and Horesh, 2015; and Habib, 2010). Women seek prestige in adopting urban speech styles even at the price of distancing themselves from traditional practices.

In contrast, male youths only used /tʃ/ at home which can be interpreted as a reflection of their social identity and because they were wary not to be perceived 'feminine'. These findings strongly correspond with Ali and Arafa findings (2010) that stated men were driven by the stereotype of practicing local speech style to be viewed masculine and tough; while women adopted the non-local style as a sign of prestige and softness.

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To examine the linguistic practices of males and females of different ages, we calculated the frequency of /q/ and /tʃ/ in the interview transcriptions collected. A comparison of the use of /q/ between the female groups that both female groups (youths and adults) that did not differ greatly (795 and 597, respectively). This finding was predictable because females are often viewed adopting a non-local vernaculars and educated speech forms. Yet, comparing the male groups on the same variable showed that adult males used /q/ more than male youths (370 and 51, respectively). This finding might be viewed as the desire of the younger group to show their masculinity and toughness and not follow the standard /q/ variable associated with higher social groups or education. In summary, the youths' linguistic behavior was in accord with the Community of Practice theory.

In contrast, male youth and adults used /tʃ/ more than females (86 and 168 vs. 25 and 50, respectively) which raises several questions: to what extent is the Speech Accommodation Theory relevant to the Ṭaibeh data? Or perhaps the theory not clearly reflected because our sample was fairly limited? Or perhaps Ṭibawi males are economically, politically and socially more secure in their community and as such seek fewer attempts to raise their social status and authority. Yet, the results may indicate that women see in language as a means of mobilizing them in the economic, political and social domains.

A further examination of the data, age influenced the use of /tʃ/. The use of this phonological variable was double in the adult group when compared to the youth group (in both genders). Once again, this proves that older generations preserve local vernaculars and are less influenced by modernization practices in the community (Miller, 2004; Habib, 2010). In addition, the adults show that they do not accommodate their speech, generally, to other speakers.

Examining the frequencies of phonological variables across gender groups for the two age groups shows a striking difference. Females use of /q/ was three times the number of males' usage (1392 vs. 421, respectively); and males use of /tʃ/ was three times the number of females' usage for the same variable (254 vs. 75, respectively). First, these numbers correspond with several studies emphasizing women's greater tendency for adopting higher-status speech styles (i.e. Sawaie, 1994; Abdel Jawad, 1986; Cadora, 1970; Suleiman, 1985; Boukous, 1979; Cotter & Horesh, 2015; Ali & Arafa, 2010). Seeking higher social, economic and political status can be viewed as motivating factors for women's linguistic practices, as stated in the Ecology of Language theory (Haugen, 1972) which claimed that language is not rule-governed; but more of a behavior resulting from the needs of human sociality.

Most of participants of this study were educated and driven by community expectations. Examining individual cases of their speech patterns, particularly the speaker's use of /q/ or /tʃ/, showed that education was a predictor of regardless of gender. Yet, some educated individuals made accommodations to the context the conversation. For example, an adult male metal

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worker, raised in Ṭaibeh to a *Fellaḥi* family, yet, educated in Hebrew speaking schools; primarily used /tʃ/ in his speech. While participating in a family gathering where all members present had academic degrees; I might have expected him to accommodate his speech style or adopt the /q/ pronunciation to socially fit the environment and show group solidarity. In contrast, we could claim that he would as a member of a *Fellaḥi* family and as a male adult adhere to the /tʃ/ more authentic and stronger traditional identity. The influence of this complex situation and my presence as a female educated person caused a great inconsistency in his usage of the examined phonological variable. The confusion of which is evident in the following speech sample:

Ayam zaman fiha Øiqa akØar' ya'ni ana saḥilitʃ wana syir immi tkun 'end ġiranna, ana anam aʃfa 'ala riġilha tkhallini nayem 'end ġiranna.

(In the old days had more trust, meaning, I remember when I was little and my mom at our neighbor's house, I would fall asleep on her leg/lap and she would leave me sleeping at our neighbor's house)

This statement clearly shows that the speaker was uncertain which phonological variable to choose which reflects that he was influenced by several factors of his specific context.

Social context and the women's social expectations have for language to advance their social status affects their language behavior (particularly their word choice). Language behavior often conveys social status, as reflected in the following quote: "...if I didn't have the voice of lettered people I would never truly be lettered..." Zadie Smith's quotation in the published monologue "Speaking in Tongues" (Smith, 2009) illustrates the reciprocal relation between education and social context. This quote emphasizes how social context and education complement each other. Smith's community "of lettered people", might relate to the Community of Practice Theory (Wenger, 2011), which identifies communities by a shared goals and ideals. The sense of a membership to a community leads to language change.

14. Limitations and future research

The study would be more comprehensive and reflective of the Ṭaibeh community if I had included a larger number of participants from a wider range of backgrounds. Another limitation was that the age perhaps I should have had three small ranged age groups.

Another important issue that deserves mention is the "observer's paradox" (Spolsky, 1985). The possibility that the collected natural speech samples were affected by the observer's presence cannot be ignored. In addition, some of participants' knowledge and familiarity with the experimenter's might have affected their performance. Thus, perhaps future research should be conducted by an experimenter whose background is not known to the participants. However,

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anonymity might raise the issue of trust and distrust. If participants met an unfamiliar experimenter; would they cooperate or trust the researcher to the same extent they did in the current study?

Another research possibility worth investigation might include testing the same participants with the same methodological measures after a certain time period (i.e. years) which might reveal additional aspects of their linguistic behavior and changes relative to age, social changes, etc. I believe that conducting the same procedure after a lengthy time period with the same or a different experimenter might yield extremely significant results and would be an important source of comparison in the linguistic behavior of participants.

Another avenue for future research may include interviewing the participants in a fixed setting (testing participants in the same place), or a comparison between each participant's responses in two settings should be considered.

Addressing these limitations and addressing other issues would expand and enhance the quality and scope of the present study. The expanded study may be addresses in the form of a future article or some research project.

The results of the study might have several implications. The first is an enhanced awareness to dialectical nuances and their source. The linguistic changes in dialectical Arabic can raise students' awareness of sociolinguistic behavior. This awareness can be explained to enhance their interpersonal communication between generations and genders. Once the speaker is aware of his speech behavior within his community; he or she has better chances of more successful communication.

Consequently, the metalinguistic awareness speakers may gain might contribute to their social mobility in the future. For example, students might develop enhanced communication skills which could be applied to interactions their future employers. Individuals' metalinguistic awareness enrich their ability to accommodate their speech to meet social expectations and more successful communication. Therefore, the study might be considered as a starting point towards greater metalinguistic awareness in the communities of bilingual speaker.

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